Research in the supporting sciences

LINGUISTIC THEORY

83–345 Akinnaso, F. Niyi (University of California, Berkeley). On the differences between spoken and written language. *Language and Speech* (Hampton Hill, Mddx), **25**, 2 (1982), 97–125.

A detailed review of the methods and results of published research on the differences between spoken and written language. Although most researchers agree on the kind of differences we find in word choice and lexical structure (e.g. written language has longer words, more attributive adjectives, more varied vocabulary, a shorter text) there are important differences in (1) data base, (2) method of gathering data and their analysis and (3) the specific purpose of word counting. There are a number of factors influencing lexical choice not mentioned in the literature such as (i) context and purpose of the speech event, (ii) the nature of the communicative task, (iii) topic and associated register peculiarities and (iv) participants' background and level of linguistic knowledge.

A number of syntactico-semantic differences between spoken and written language are listed (e.g. unlike speech, written language promotes preferential usage of elaborate syntactic and semantic structures, especially complex nominal constructions, it shows a preference for subordinate rather than coordinate constructions, and so on). The sentence is not a valid unit of comparative analysis of spoken and written language – some alternatives (such as 'idea unit', 'verbal expression') are discussed.

There are a number of problems which face all researchers in this field, viz. the need for data control (often conclusions are an artifact of data choice), lack of adequate definition of the variables that may affect findings, emphasis on general rather than specific consequences of writing on language structure, quantitative orientation (deciding on what and how to count), limitation of samples to academics and neglect of oral ritual language.

Differences between spoken and written language have traditionally been explained in terms of the differences in modes of acquisition, methods of production/reception, degree of planning, etc. The author prefers the kind of explanation offered by Gumperz and colleagues who argue that modality-specific pragmatic constraints (such as the availability of feedback, knowledge of one's audience and their presuppositions, availability of reference to preceding material and differential reliance on memory) provide the best account for surface differences.

83–346 Bertel's, A. E. Разделы словаря, семантические поля и тематические группы слов. [Dictionary groupings, semantic fields and thematic groups of words.] *Вопросы языкознания* (Moscow), **4** (1982), 52–63.

A critique of the position that it is possible to devise a universal schema of conceptual types (e.g. that presented by Hallig & Wartburg). The basis of the argument is that modern classifications use scientific taxonomies of the natural world as the basis for

their division into semantic fields and thematic groupings, and that in other cultures these taxonomies are fundamentally at variance with commonly held (folk) taxonomies, and also with what is known as science in these cultures. In support of this criticism, a whole range of facts is cited relating to the terminology of medieval Arabic and Persian documents: names for birds, food, the classification into 'living', 'animal', etc. Any typology of concepts has to take account of historical and national differences.

83–347   Bierwisch, Manfred. Sprache als kognitives System – Thesen zur theoretischen Linguistik. [Language as a cognitive system – theses for theoretical linguistics.] *Deutsch als Fremdsprache* (Leipzig, GDR), **19**, 3 (1982), 139–44.

Linguistic behaviour is determined by mental representations, generated by rule systems which are in turn based on genetically acquired behavioural principles. Human behaviour in general is the result of a variety of behavioural systems – motor, perceptual, conceptual, social-interactive, and linguistic – each with its own representations and rule systems, and ultimately determined by its own underlying principles. All these have functions in the processing and communication of experience. The underlying principles may be latent in the learning capacity of the organism and may thus be a selectional factor in evolution. The rule systems must be learnt, but are also susceptible to variation and evolutionary selection. Linguistic theory is concerned with the investigation of the regularities of the linguistic system, especially its underlying principles, but also embedded in relations with other behavioural systems.

83–348   Dem'jankov, V. Z. Конвенции, правила и стратегии общения (интерпретирующий подход к аргументации). [Conventions, rules and strategies (an interpretative approach to argumentation).] *Серия литературы и языка* (Moscow), **41**, 4 (1982), 327–37.

On the basis of an approach (the 'interpretative' approach) which makes a clear distinction between knowledge of language and knowledge of the real world, an attempt is made to classify and describe the types of component which go into argumentation. After briefly describing the 'ideal' conditions for argumentation to be effective, a wide range of relevant factors is listed, under the headings of 'communicative conventions' (relating to conditions on the fulfilment of promises, threats, etc., for instance), 'rules of communication' (which, unlike conventions, are said to constrain just one participant of the communication), and 'strategies of communication' (which involve the intelligent application of rules towards a certain end). It is stressed that the boundaries between these notions are not intended to be rigid. The advantages of the 'interpretative' approach is seen as being that all of these types of factor are quite independent of the lexical representation of a verb such as *promise*.

83–349   Givón, T. (U. of Oregon). Evidentiality and epistemic space. *Studies in Language* (Amsterdam), **6**, 1 (1982), 23–49.

The concept of truth has occupied a central position in traditional epistemology. However, when viewed within a communicative context, propositions fall into three main areas of 'epistemic space': those of lowest certainty, such as hypothetical propositions for which no evidence can be provided, those of medium certainty, for which evidence is required, and those of highest certainty, which speaker and hearer implicitly accept. This last category includes, for example, not only analytic truths and shared knowledge encoded in the lexicon but also knowledge revealed mystically to the speaker. Within each major category there is, however, a scale of certainty. Data from Rwanda, Sherpa and Ute show how these contrasts may be encoded in language. The notion of truth should give way to that of certainty, since evidentiality is the basis of certainty and it is this that underlies the derived, 'marked' phenomenon of truth in language.

83–350   Givón, Talmy (U. of Oregon). Logic vs. pragmatics, with human language as the referee: toward an empirically viable epistemology. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **6**, 2 (1982), 81–133.

The history of the treatment of both semantics and pragmatics in linguistics has been until recently a captive of over-logicisation, where the deductive, algorithmic, close-ended, context-free properties of the system were over-emphasised to the detriment of a more realistic view of facts of natural language. A careful survey of even the traditional preoccupations of logicians and philosophers of language, such as reference, definite description or presupposition, reveals that the logico-deductive treatment of these subjects misrepresented their overall nature by systematically masking their overwhelmingly pragmatic nature – context sensitivity, open-endedness and probabilistic/inductive/abductive inference. This paper surveys the linguistic evidence of both traditional and less traditional kind, showing human language to be a mixed system, whereby deductive ('automated') processing always arises out of the slower, probabilistic, abductive/pragmatic ('analytic') processing, under well-defined communicative conditions. These two major systems in cognising organisms are then contrasted as to their properties and functional distribution, and it is shown that a similar interplay between the two is attested in neurology, perception, motor behaviour and memory and retrieval studies. The rise of deductive out of pragmatic processing is thus a more specific reflection of a general biological phenomenon of the rise of routinisation and automated circuits out of the slower, analytic, context-sensitive input-processing mode.

83–351   Goodwin, James W. and Hein, Uwe (Linköping U.). Artificial intelligence and the study of language. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **6**, 3/4 (1982), 241–80.

Artificial intelligence has developed independently of linguistics because its practitioners rejected the prevailing Chomskyan emphasis on syntax (as opposed to semantics) and language systems (rather than language use). Other schools of

linguistics, rejecting the formalisation of language processes, were, in turn, hostile to AI because of its central use of computing methods. AI, defined as the pursuit of a general theory of cognitive systems, makes the central assumption that cognition is to be equated with information processing, whether carried out by a computer or a human being. It is more important to have a variety of theories of cognition than to have a single reliable, powerful or complete theory, but the result has been that AI theories appear superficial to the outsider. In contrast, linguistics has favoured the development of detailed theories explaining a very limited aspect of cognition; such theories tend to fail when called upon to interact with neighbouring domains. The prerequisites for fruitful co-operation between AI and linguistics include a focus on the language user rather than the language system and an interest in constructive 'psychologically real' theories rather than abstract models. An outline scheme for collaboration between AI, linguistics, computer science and psychology is drawn up.

83–352   Manor, Ruth. Answers and other reactions. *Theoretical Linguistics* (Berlin), **9**, 1 (1982), 69–94.

This paper is concerned with answers to questions and their relations to assertions. Since in asserting a proposition the speaker is answering a question and in asking a question he expresses his commitment to the truth of its presupposition, it is argued that both acts of asking and of asserting are representable in terms of sets of question-answer pairs.

A formal language is described for these pairs. The first argument, the question, is an open formula in a fully typed language containing the usual sentential connectives. The second argument, a categorial answer, is a term of the appropriate type. Terms of the same type may be combined with term-connectives, and quantification over open pairs yield (complex) terms. Semantically, these terms yield three kinds of categorial answers to a given question: direct answers denote elements of the domain of the appropriate category; eliminative answers denote a subset of this domain, within which a direct answer is to be found. If the subset is the domain itelf, then the pair represents the presupposition of the question that it has a true answer within the domain; corrective answers consist in the (term-) negation of the presupposition. Quantification and description are introduced only by quantification over terms, yielding, in effect, Aristotelian quantification.

This approach enables the author to distinguish sentential connectives from term connectives, and to distinguish between different contrastive foci of sentence tokens of the same sentence type. Moreover, the semantic presupposition of both indicative and interrogative sentences can be defined in terms of the presupposition of a question that it has a true answer. Finally, a natural concept of semantic relevance of one utterance to another can be defined in terms of the question-answer relation, accounting for both the local relevance of a discussion, in which each utterance is semantically relevant to the preceding utterance although the subject of the discussion may shift, and for the global relevance of a discussion where two utterances may seem locally irrelevant to each other, though they are so related by being both somehow relevant to the problem under discussion.

83–353   Vinter, V. О маркированности, соответствии норме и 'естественности'. [On markedness, correspondence to the norm and 'normality'.] *Вопросы языкознания* (Moscow), **4** (1982), 72–7.

The early use of the term 'marked' in linguistic theory was connected with the presence of some feature which was absent from the 'unmarked' member of an opposition. It subsequently became used to refer to functions irrespective of the form in which they are expressed, and then to mean 'normal'. There are instances where these various interpretations of the term are useful; it makes sense to distinguish them clearly, as they involve quite different characteristics. The term 'markedness' should be reserved for those cases where a formal interpretation makes sense, and the separate notion of 'normality' should be developed in connection with further studies of the use made of different oppositions in speech.

83–354   Waugh, Linda R. (Cornell U.). Marked and unmarked: a choice between unequals in semiotic structure. *Semiotica* (Amsterdam), **38**, 3/4 (1982), 299–318.

Markedness – the asymmetrical and hierarchical relationship between the two poles of any opposition – has been generally misunderstood by semioticians. They have tended to use the notion in its phonological sense, which stresses the 'differentiatedness' of the *signatum*, but would do better to adopt the notion as it is used in semantic (grammatical and lexical) systems, in which the 'significativeness' of the *signatum* is emphasised. Examples of marked/unmarked relations in grammatical and lexical meaning are discussed followed by examples from other semiotic systems, leading to the conclusion that a better understanding of various correlated oppositional pairs in culture, literary usage, in language, etc., is crucially based on the evaluation of the hierarchical relationship such pairs evidence and on the dynamic dialectic the markedness relations create.

83–355   Wierzbicka, Anna (Australian National U.), Case marking and human nature. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* (St Lucia, Queensland), **1** (1981), 43–80.

The theory of human nature, derived from case marking data, which says that a human being tends to regard himself as the quintessential agent, is tested by counting the agent-to-patient ratio in transitive action sentences in six plays. Results indicate that the agent-to-patient ratio for first person pronouns is not higher than that for nouns and third person pronouns. This, with other linguistic evidence cited, would suggest that the traditional notion of the speaker as the quintessential experiencer is more plausible. The theory of split ergativity, which was built on the basis of the postulated 'scale of agentivity', is incompatible with the observation that third person pronouns receive the ergative case marking more often than the first or second person pronouns do. The author attempts to clarify the vague concept of 'case marking' by distinguishing between cases and case forms: cases carry positive semantic values whereas case forms merely have a distinguishing function. Splits in case marking are often matched by a number of other splits, e.g. in agreement, order of clitics, order of

pronominal affixes and direct and inverse forms. Thus first and second person pronouns differ from nouns and third person pronouns not just in case marking but in several respects. A common explanation for these facts should be sought and this may be that first and second person have a privileged semantic status over the third person.

PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

83–356   Bolinger, Dwight. Intonation and its parts. *Language* (Baltimore, Md), **58**, 3 (1982), 505–33.

The traditional attempts to identify grammatical functions of intonation have recently been supplemented by attempts to identify holistic lexical functions. One such, proposed by Liberman and Sag (1974) and by Sag and Liberman (1975) is a 'contradiction contour' having the general shape, with the sentence accent normally at or near the lowest pitch. This contour, as an exemplar of the theory of intonational wholes, is examined in the light of an alternative theory of abstract meanings attached to rises v. falls. 'Contradiction' is seen as a contextual inference from the more abstract meanings.

83–357   Gunter, Cheryl D. (U. of Texas, Austin) **and Manning, Walter H.** (Memphis State U.). Listener estimations of speaker height and weight in unfiltered and filtered conditions. *Journal of Phonetics* (London), **10**, 3 (1982), 251–7.

Twenty speakers (10 male and 10 female) produced four steady-state vowels in which the fundamental frequency and first three formants were deleted by filtering. Forty listeners (20 male and 20 female) were asked to directly estimate both the height and weight of each speaker by listening to an unfiltered and each of the three filtered signals. Significant differences were found between actual and estimated heights and weights for individual listener estimates of individual speakers but not between different listening conditions. The results do not support previous investigations which indicate that listeners are able to accurately estimate speaker physical characteristics using only information contained in the acoustic signal.

83–358   Meara, Paul (Birkbeck Coll., London) **and Ellis, Andrew W.** (U. of Lancaster). The psychological reality of deep and surface phonological representations: evidence from speech errors in Welsh. *Linguistics* (The Hague), **19**, 7/8 (1981), 797–804.

Welsh is a mutating language which means that the initial consonant of many words changes according to the word's syntactic environment. When spoonerisms (i.e. phoneme reversal errors) occur in Welsh, the phonemes sometimes appear to reverse before mutating, thereby accommodating themselves to their new (error) environment. In other cases the phonemes appear to mutate before reversing. One error reported involves a reversal of mutation instructions rather than phonemes. Analysis of such

errors indicates the need to distinguish psychologically real deep and surface phonological representations, with phoneme reversals occurring either in the transition from deep to surface phonological forms or in the transition from surface phonology to articulatory-phonetic representations.

83–359   Umeda, Noriko (Bell Labs., NJ.). 'F_0 declination' is situation dependent. *Journal of Phonetics* (London), **10**, 3 (1982), 279–90.

Fundamental voice frequency (F_0) of sentences in three distinctively different modes of speaking – short unrelated sentences, an essay, and free conversation – was studied, in order to find if the down-drift of F_0 occurs as universally as some investigators have claimed. The contextual effect in extensive readings was found to be very strong. Only 21 % (at the most among four talkers) of boundary units have some kind of observed declination in discourse reading. Visually obvious declination was found in only half of the short isolated sentences when they covered a wide range of topics and sentence structures. It is concluded that such declination in short test sentences comes from two sources: (1) a signal for a new idea marked by high F_0 at the beginning of the sentence and the anticipation of a fall at the end; and (2) lack of any focus of attention in a sentence, and hence a dry and mechanical reading.

SOCIOLINGUISTICS

83–360   Hildebrant, Nancy (Kinjo Gakuin U.) **and Giles, Howard** (U. of Bristol). The English language in Japan: a social psychological perspective. *JALT Journal* (Takamatsu-shi, Japan), **2** (1980), 63–87.

This paper attempts to extend theories from the social psychology of language to the case of a monolingual community speaking English as a foreign language. Two theoretical frameworks are presented and then integrated: Giles's theory of speech accommodation, which attempts to account for the conditions under which speech convergence and divergence occur, and Gardner's model of second-language acquisition, which illustrates the strong effect of the social milieu and type of motivation on second-language learning. Implications for English language education and planning in Japan are discussed.

The overwhelming social attitudinal orientation to English in Japan is instrumental, since English is felt to be a 'passport to success'. Grammar-translation methods persist because they are less threatening to the social identity of students and teachers. A Japanese who speaks English 'as a native' is perceived negatively by other Japanese. If more than one Japanese participates in a conversation with a native English speaker, there is strong pressure to treat the conversation as an intergroup encounter and to diverge on some linguistic dimensions to signal ingroup membership and cultural distinctiveness. It may also be that divergence is being observed where English is spoken with a Japanese-like pronunciation. Students will diverge when the 'costs' of perceived identity loss become greater than the 'rewards' of pleasing the teacher. Japanese will feel more confident in speaking English if they are allowed Japanese–

English pronunciation and certain cultural styles of expression. Another solution is the teaching of foreign cultures through language teaching.

83–361 Ide, Sachiko (Japan Women's U., Tokyo). Japanese sociolinguistics: politeness and women's language. *Lingua* (Amsterdam), **57** (1982), 357–85.

A survey of Japanese honorific systems is first presented, showing how variant forms of most grammatical categories are available for the expression of respect towards the addressee and/or the referents of the utterance. Other forms can also be used, conversely, to humble the speaker. Social rules are proposed, enjoining politeness towards individuals who have a higher social position, have greater power, or are older than the speaker. The relative weighting of these rules is specified, together with an overriding rule calling for politeness in any formal setting. Honorifics are used by women more than by men, with instances of hypercorrection being observable (including, in this case, the use of incorrect forms confusing referent and addressee honorifics). Women also use more 'beautification' honorifics, more frequent formal terms, few vulgar expressions, and more 'softening' devices, all these reflecting women's lower status and concern for demeanour.

83–362 Johnson, Pat and Giles, Howard (U. of Bristol). Values, language and inter-cultural differentiation: the Welsh–English context. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* (Clevedon, Avon), **3**, 2 (1982), 103–16.

People's values reflect their self-images and group memberships, and cross-cultural differences in values may mirror the social structures of societies thus compared. This investigation examined the values of three groups of British adolescents by means of the Rokeach Value Survey (RVS), viz., bilingual Welsh, English-only-speaking Welsh, and English-only-speaking English. Since the issue of language can accentuate the cultural conflict between the English and Welsh, language of testing may be an important factor in assessing bilinguals' values. In addition, bilinguals also completed a second RVS as they imagined an English adolescent would, thereby allowing a comparison of actual and perceived differences in values. Multi- and uni-variate statistical analyses were performed on the data with the main factors of sex, group and language of testing (where appropriate). Results showed few differences between the actual values held by the three groups or for language of testing them. Nevertheless, significant discrepancies between the bilinguals' perceptions of their own values and those of their imagined English counterparts emerged. In this instance, the quantity and quality of this differentiation were dependent on the language of testing (Welsh versus English). The implications of these results are discussed within the context of a recent model of the functions of social stereotypes.

83–363 Labov, William (U. of Pennsylvania). Objectivity and commitment in linguistic science: the case of the Black English trial in Ann Arbor. *Language in Society* (London), **11**, 2 (1982), 165–201.

Though many linguists have shown a strong concern for social issues, there is an apparent contradiction between the principles of objectivity needed for scientific work

and commitment to social action. The Black English trial in Ann Arbor showed one way in which this contradiction could be resolved. The first decade of research on Black English was marked by violent differences between creolists and dialectologists on the structure and origin of the dialect. The possibility of a joint point of view first appeared in the general reaction of linguists against the view that blacks were linguistically and genetically inferior. The entrance of black linguists into the field was a critical factor in the further development of the creole hypothesis and the recognition of the distinctive features of the tense and aspect system. At the trial, linguists were able to present effective testimony in the form of a unified view on the origins and structural characteristics of the Black English Vernacular and argue for its validity as an alternative to standard English.

83–364   Martinet, André. Bilinguisme et diglossie: appel à une vision dyna-mique des faits. [Bilingualism and diglossia: the need for a dynamic approach.] *Linguistique* (Paris), **18**, 1 (1982), 5–16.

Terminology can sometimes fail to do justice to complex reality. The term 'bilingual-ism', often applied to a speaker's ability to handle two languages equally competently, should apply to any situation where two languages are used without regard to degrees of competence. Ferguson coined the term 'diglossia' for a situation when two varieties of the same language are used, each with different social status. The term is sometimes useful, e.g. for the situation in Greece, Norway and Switzerland, but the distinction between languages and varieties of one language is often unclear. The stress on socio-linguistic criteria limits the use of the term 'bilingual' to a few individuals and excludes trilingual or plurilingual situations. A term like 'collective bilingualism' would be more useful.

Whatever terms are employed, it is the changing nature of a plurilingual stuation that needs to be stressed. [The linguistic evolution of rural France is described.] With groups as with individuals the strength of bilingualism is constantly changing. In any attempt to describe a plurilingual situation, answers to a wide range of questions are required.

83–365   Richards, Jack C. (U. of Hawaii). Talking across cultures. *Language Learning and Communication* (New York), **1**, 1 (1982), 61–71.

Different conversational conventions for the expression of social meaning can lead to misunderstanding in cross-cultural encounters. The goals of conversation are as much social as linguistic (e.g. establishing affiliation, reducing tension, etc.). In Japanese society, silence is valued in many situations where talking would be the norm for Americans. Speaker and hearer roles are central to the study of conversational interaction, particularly the aspects of presentation of self and relative status of participants. English speakers tend to display their own abilities positively, though in first encounters they understate achievements on the 'reduction principle'. In assessing roles and status, there are two choices: affiliation (roles seen as being of equal status) or dominance/dependency (differing status). Conversational strategies are part of the means for communicating which relationship is intended; two relevant aspects

of the process are degrees of display (spectator/exhibitionist) and strategies for politeness (affirmative or deferential strategies). Another important area concerns the culturally specific patterns of interaction which determine the 'ethos' of social behaviour in a particular society. Different cultures show marked differences in daily etiquette; they can be roughly contrasted in terms of whether they favour affirmative (e.g. USA) or deferential politeness (Japan). It is important for second-language learners to know which topics and speech acts have language-specific conversational restrictions.

83–366 Siegel, Jeff (Papua New Guinea U. of Tech.) Recent developments in linguistic anthropology and implications for language teaching. *Indian Journal of Applied Linguistics* (New Delhi), **6**, 2 (1980), 1–12.

Anthropologists have looked at language in many ways; however, according to the current ethnographic semantic point of view, language must be studied in relation to context-specific activities. Three research approaches in linguistic anthropology have studied language from this point of view: the enthnography of communication, linguistic pragmatics, and ethnomethodology. Another more recent approach attempts to consolidate these three with the linguistic point of view; this is the interactionist or strategic approach. It emphasises the importance of dynamic 'contextualisation cues' which are culture-based, and looks at conversation as a co-operative effort which involves conveying and interpreting these cues.

These approaches in linguistic anthropology have brought out some points relevant to language teaching. First, since language is related to context-specific activities, it would be useful to teach it in that way, as is being done in English for Specific Purposes. Second, since an important part of communication is contextual cuing which is socio-culturally determined, it would be useful to make students aware of at least some of these culture-based communication strategies.

83–367 Spolsky, Bernard (Bar-Ilan U., Israel). Sociolinguistics of literacy, bilingual education and TESOL. *TESOL Quarterly* (Washington, DC), **16**, 2 (1982), 141–51.

Recent sociolinguistic studies suggest a method for understanding more clearly the many complex relations between literacy and language education in general. Three cases are described to demonstrate this. In the history of Jewish education, the change in attitude to literacy, involving the acceptance of literacy for recording and learning the Oral Law as well as the Written Law may be seen as one of the factors that kept Hebrew alive even after it was no longer a spoken language. The contemporary bilingual programme at Rock Point Community School works for biliteracy in a community that until now has been bilingual but monoliterate. The Pacific Northwest Indian Reading Programme uses reading in the standard language to achieve a measure of community access to the curriculum that is usually only possible with a bilingual programme. The sociolinguistics of literacy provides a method for understanding how and why each of these varied curricular approaches suited the situation in which they were developed.

PSYCHOLINGUISTICS

83–368   Aitchison, Jean (London Sch. of Economics) and **Straf, Miron** (National Research Council, Washington, DC). Lexical storage and retrieval: a developing skill? *Linguistics* (The Hague), **19**, 7/8 (1981), 751–95.

A multivariate analysis of 472 adult and 208 child malapropisms suggests that there are important similarities and differences in the way in which adults and children retrieve, and, by implication, store lexical items. Both groups retrieve words by looking for certain salient phonological features, and both utilise the same set of features. However, adults and children differ in the relative importance assigned to the various features. Adults give priority to initial consonants, whereas children tend to pay attention to other aspects of the word. The differences found are not artefacts of associations with the other characteristics studied, neither are they due to biases within the data base. A number of interacting factors are proposed to account for the differences found: (i) Children possibly pay selective attention to the perceptually salient aspects of a word, such as the rhythm and the stressed vowel. (ii) Word endings seem to be particularly noticed by children, perhaps due to a mixture of perceptual salience and the memorability of rhyming endings. Concentration on word endings may mean that correspondingly less attention is paid to initial consonants. (iii) Phonological processes, which are due largely to memory constraints, may play a role in lowering the importance of initial consonants. (iv) Greater familiarity with the written word and dictionaries is likely to lead adults to concentrate on word initials. (v) As children get older, increase in vocabulary size may lead to the necessity for a more parsimonious system for storage and fast retrieval, since in English, word beginnings distinguish between words more efficiently than word endings. Increases in vocabulary size may therefore lead to a greater priority for word beginnings.

83–369   Bierwisch, Manfred (Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Berlin). Linguistics and language error. *Linguistics* (The Hague), **19**, 7/8 (1981), 583–626.

The first part of the paper explores three types of spontaneous speech errors: sequential errors, selectional errors and blends on the level of lexical and syntactic organisation. The errors are explained in terms of two types of underlying mechanisms: sequential errors result from disturbances of timing processes, selectional errors and blends result from disturbances in activation and selection. The second part generalises the effects involved in speech errors to other types of automatised behaviour such as typing and practical action. It pursues the interaction of different levels of structure in determining the result of occasional disturbances in the postulated mechanisms. Finally three special problems are analysed: the role of lexically opaque semantic constituents in verbs like *auf-hören* (to cease); the status of morphological errors; and the specification of the domain constraining the occurrence of sequential errors. With respect to the latter, two types of mis-ordering are distinguished – exchange and anticipation or delay – and the domain of the former is characterised in terms of rhythmical conditions inherent in the accent pattern. In general selection errors are

constrained by structural similarity of competing elements, and sequential errors by rhythmical conditions on timing.

83–370 Bonnet, Clairelise and Tamine, Joëlle (U. of Provence, Aix). Les noms construits par les enfants: description d'un corpus. [Names invented by children: description of a corpus.] *Langages* (Paris), **66** (1982), 67–96.

The names invented by young French children (up to 9) for members of their family, their friends, toys, animals, sex organs, and also the words they use in anger and as insults, are the subject of this study. A corpus of 280 observations is presented, derived from (1) the reported observations of Grégoire (1947) and Piaget (1976) of their own children; (2) the author's own children; (3) a questionnaire to parents of children at infant and primary schools; (4) a questionnaire to children. Four types of analysis are given: (*a*) semantic fields, e.g. intimate/family: (*cassuce* = small cushion which the child sucks); (*b*) relation to the adult lexicon (e.g. *poupou* = *poupée*); (*c*) motivation of the construction of the word (e.g. *Oranie* = tortoise found on the Oran road); (*d*) morphology (e.g. doubling: *bibille*, *gigide*). Secondly, processes of construction are discussed, and 11 different types are noted. Finally, the relationship of inventing names to age is considered; two-thirds of the invented names (where the age of invention was known) were invented by children of less than five. The relationship of these findings to experimental phonology and morphology, and to developmental psychology is considered.]

83–371 Bouvier, Nadine (CRESAS INRP). Comment les enfants réutilisent-ils les données linguistiques fournies par l'entourage adulte? [How do children re-use the linguistic data provided by adults around them?] *Études de Linguistique Appliquée* (Paris), **46** (1982), 58–77.

Children between three and six arrive at well-formed syntactic structures on the basis of incomplete utterances heard from adults supplemented by clues from the communicative situation. Their language is thus constructed through successive states of syntactic equilibrium that proceed in harness with general intellectual development (cf. Piaget). If effective communication were the only concern, children would rest with satisfactory systems instead of putting them at risk by venturing into new linguistic forms to express ever more exactly their maturing perceptions. Mastered forms can thus regress into error until the new equilibrium is attained and it is obvious that correct adult utterances only serve as a model when they match a child's intellectual level and meet his immediate needs. On the basis of data from French-speaking children it is concluded that children only learn to speak when they want to communicate and have something to say, never to repeat an adult utterance except, perhaps, as a game and abstract schema for subsequent utterances. It follows that children will learn better in a communicatively rich environment with freedom to experiment among encouraging listeners.

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83–372   Butterworth, Brian (University Coll., London). Speech errors: old data in search of new theories. *Linguistics* (The Hague), **19**, 7/8 (1981), 627–62.

Recent theories of speech production have sought to explain speech errors in terms of the permutation or decay of intended elements. More venerable accounts – Freud, Meringer and Mayer – on the other hand, acknowledged the influence of unintended elements on the occurrence and nature of errors, and offered data whose most plausible explanation seemed to be in terms of the effects of unintended material. In this paper, the claims made by these authors are re-examined, along with modern attempts to explain away their problematic data. Recent theories are also committed to a strict sequence of processing stages, but a closer examination of both modern and older corpora reveals an improbable proportion of errors caused, apparently, by the malfunction of two or more theoretically independent stages.

There seems to be no way of naturally extending strictly sequential models to accommodate these data, and the sketch of an alternative is proposed in which strict sequence is replaced by parallel processes with checking.

83–373   Crompton, Andrew (U. of Nottingham). Syllables and segments in speech production. *Linguistics* (The Hague), **19**, 7/8 (1981), 663–716.

Speech error data are used to investigate the role in speech production of phonological segments such as syllables, phones, and syllable-constituents. It is argued that the construction of articulatory programmes involves the accessing of a library of articulatory routines. These routines correspond to syllables, while their addresses in the library are expressed in a form analogous to classical phonemic representation. The instructions employed in accessing the library involve the transfer of phonological information from the lexicon. This transfer takes place syllable-constituent by syllable-constituent. It is shown how this model accounts for a variety of speech errors.

83–374   Diehl, Erika. Sprachverarbeitung und kognitive Struktur. [Language processing and cognitive structure.] *Deutsche Sprache* (Berlin, FRG), **4** (1981), 289–311.

A test was conducted in which participants were required to recall a text. The results showed that the surface form of the recalled text varied, with neither word-for-word nor proposition-by-proposition reproduction. This suggests that Walter Kintsch's claim that information is stored in propositional form is untenable. It is hypothesised that information is stored in the memory in non-verbal units, here called 'noemes', which on recall must be linearised and transformed into propositions and then into verbal structures. Illustrations of analogous representations are given from the notes taken by simultaneous translators.

83–375 **Elbers, Loekie** (Rijks U., Utrecht). Operating principles in repetitive babbling: a cognitive continuity approach. *Cognition* (Lausanne), **12**, 1 (1982), 45–63.

A case study of the period of repetitive babbling in one child (Dutch) is reported. A cognitive continuity theory is presented, which views repetitive babbling as a systematic, continuous and largely self-directed process of exploration, during which the child uses certain operating principles in the construction of his own 'springboard' to speech. Two operating principles identified are: a combination principle, consisting of the combining of articulatory acts which previously have been exercised separately, and a variation principle, consisting of the trying out of the same type of articulatory act in different articulatory contexts.

Four stages are distinguished in the development of repetitive babbling. In the first stage no combinations occur, in the second stage combination mainly takes the form of repetition and in the third stage it takes the form of concatenating different babbling types as well. In the fourth stage the concatenations grow more varied and less repetitive in character. The subsequent stages of jargon babbling and first words are discussed briefly and their continuity with repetitive babbling is pointed out.

83–376 **Khomsi, A.** (U. of Tours). Langue maternelle et langage adressé à l'enfant. [Mother tongue and motherese.] *Langue Française* (Paris), **54** (1982), 93–107.

Motherese, the language spoken to a child, principally but not exclusively by the mother, is described with regard to form and function. In form it is simple, well formed, redundant, accompanied by expressive gestures; its content is limited to concrete nouns and verbs in the present, related to the child's activities and thus dependent on context, including attitudes. Its function is principally to communicate with the child; the mother takes the initiative, using routines of presentation, repetition and expansion that evolve as the child's comprehension and share in the interactive process develop. This development is determined by age; lexical criteria prevail in the child's comprehension until 4; 6; awareness of morphological and syntactic rules between 5 and 7 leads to a rejection of motherese. The universality of motherese is uncertain. It is used by older siblings or other adults in lieu of parents in some societies, but detailed studies are few. On the other hand, its role as a guide to social conventions is well attested.

83–377 **List, Gudula.** Neuropsychologie und das Lernen und Lehren fremder Sprachen. [Neuropsychology and the learning and teaching of foreign languages.] *Die neueren Sprachen* (Frankfurt am Main, FRG), **81**, 2 (1982), 149–72.

Human language is specifically associated with the left hemisphere of the brain, which is responsible for the processing, analysis and synthesis of symbols. It also processes nonsense syllables. The right hemisphere, on the other hand, processes other auditory stimuli, such as noises and music, and is more concerned with entities as a whole. It nevertheless does have some ability to handle stereotyped phrases, etc.

Evidence from aphasia, language acquisition, and bilingualism is adduced to

support the view that both hemispheres must be involved in foreign-language learning, since language involves not only the capacity to operate symbolically and analytically, but also the ability to relate symbolic forms to non-linguistic reality. Language teaching must take account of this by not neglecting cultural and communicative aspects. Furthermore, the process of foreign-language learning differs from first language acquisition in stimulating the brain to operate in an integrated manner.

83-378   Oller, D. K. and Eilers, R. E. (U. of Miami). Similarity of babbling in Spanish- and English-learning babies. *Journal of Child Language* (Cambridge), **9**, 3 (1982), 565–77.

Infants from a variety of linguistic backgrounds have been reported to babble similarly. The present study considers this possibility in detail, offering a concrete characterisation of how babbling of Spanish- and English-learning babies is similar. Babbling of a group of Spanish- and another of English-learning infants (12 months of age) was recorded and transcribed by two experimenters, one a primarily Spanish speaker and one a primarily English speaker. Results show that in spite of gross phonetic differences between the adult phonologies of Spanish and English, babies from both groups produce predominantly CV syllables with voiceless, unaspirated plosive consonants. Vowel production is also perceived as notably alike. In the light of such similarities, possible differences in babbling of the two groups may be hard for even sophisticated listeners to notice.

PRAGMATICS

83-379   Bublitz, Wolfram and Kühn, Peter (U. of Trier). Aufmerksamkeitssteuerung: zur Verstehenssicherung des Gemeinten und des Mitgemeinten. [Directing attention: ensuring understanding of what is meant and implied.] *Zeitschrift für germanistische Linguistik* (Berlin, FRG), **9**, 1 (1981), 55–76.

Speakers may seek to draw their listener's attention to themselves or to some external circumstance, but also to something unsaid that they wish to imply. Various means, including non-linguistic, are available either to hold the listener's attention or to direct it. What is meant may differ from what is said in containing implications (reproach, invitation, etc.), but what the hearer understands will include both of these. But not everything that is implied is part of what is meant: some of it belongs to the 'pragmatic universe of discourse' common to all speakers and hearers and some belongs to the particular speaker and hearer, and only in the latter case can the speaker draw attention to it. Attention is drawn to what is implied in order to ensure that it has been understood or properly interpreted (e.g. in the case of a joke), and this is effected by repetition, emphatic intonation, gestures etc., or by explanation. If the implications are not understood, the speaker may apologise or blame the hearer.

83–380 Bulygina, T. V. and Shmelev, A. D. Диалогические Функции некоторых типов вопросительных предложений. [Functions in dialogue of certain types of interrogative sentence.] *Серия литературы и языка* (Moscow), **41**, 4 (1982), 314–26.

A discussion of the functions fulfilled in dialogue by questions of different forms in Russian, and in particular, an account of the meaning of the particles *razve* and *neuzheli*. It is shown firstly that they are quite distinct in their basic functions (which contradicts many traditional descriptions) and secondly that the appropriateness of questions containing these particles can be deduced from their basic functions. *Razve* is used in contexts where the content of the question is something that the speaker did not believe, and this sort of question may either indicate that the speaker is now accepting the truth of this proposition, or alternatively that he still does not believe the proposition, or the presuppositions contained in it. *Neuzheli*, on the other hand, typically expresses emotional involvement – usually surprise – so that it is not used to challenge an assertion, but rather to express surprise that an accepted proposition is the case.

83–381 Dahl, Östen. The contract game. *Theoretical Linguistics* (Berlin), **9**, 1 (1982), 3–10.

Speech act types can be analysed in terms of their roles in a contract concluding process (referred to as 'the Contract Game'). Some fundamental types of speech acts, such as assertions, requests, promises, and questions are discussed from this point of view, then an attempt is made to explain the essential properties of some special kinds of utterances, viz. explicit performatives, fiats, and imperative conditionals.

83–382 Duro-Courdesses, Lucile (U. Paris Nord). Négotiations dans le groupe des pairs à l'école élémentaire ou comment ne pas se dénoncer? [Negotiations within the peer-group at elementary school or how not to give oneself away?] *Études de Linguistique Appliquée* (Paris), **46** (1982), 78–89.

A group of children threatened with collective punishment for a misdeed committed by one of them, discuss their situation and ways of getting out of it. The children's conversation is recorded and the text reproduced here. The language used and the strategies adopted are analysed. The children display considerable linguistic skills and communicative competence in addition to skill in argument and manipulation of each other and the teacher. Schools and teachers too often disregard children's command of language instead of basing mother-tongue teaching on what the children already know.

83–383 Fühlau, Ingunde and Wohlers, Heide. Konsumhandeln oder: Werbesprache als eine Textsorte des Kapitalismus. [Consumer dealings, or advertising language as a text type of capitalism.] *Linguistische Berichte* (Wiesbaden, FRG), **72** (1981), 51–67.

Starting from an observation of Januschek's that advertising language does not differ linguistically from other forms of language, but that advertising does not fulfil the

conditions for normal language and communication, the athors develop the claim that since all other forms of language activity also deviate from idealised 'normal' communication, advertising language differs from these only in degree; it is a typical instance of the perversion of human relations in capitalist society.

83–384   Laparra, Marceline (U. of Metz). Sélection thématique et cohérence du discours à l'oral. [Theme selection and coherence in spoken discourse.] *Français Moderne* (Paris), **50**, 3 (1982), 208–36.

This data-based study looks at the way speakers of modern colloquial French introduce new themes and referents and how reference to them is maintained in conversation. The linguistic description of a language must take into account the language of spoken conversations, rather than an idealised written version. [A quantity of transcribed data is presented which is derived from six hours of recordings made by schoolchildren working on a project on a village in the Doubs region; it provides examples of flexibility of syntactic rules, such as grammatical gender.]

Spoken discourse must be seen as constrained by rules acting over larger sections than the sentence. Among the points discussed are topicalisation, coherence, and implicit referents.

The corpus contains many examples of an 'extraposed theme' (i.e. topicalised); e.g. *les exploitations agricoles, ça se passe de père en fils* 'agricultural holdings, they are usually passed on from father to son'. Topicalisation is also used to maintain coherence in making links between current and next theme [examples].

'Theme' should be seen, not so much as what the interlocutors are talking about, but rather as what an individual perceives himself to be talking about at a given moment.

83–385   Long, Michael H. Adaption an den Lerner. Die Aushandlung verstehbarer Eingabe in Gesprächen zwischen muttersprachlichen Sprechern und Lernern. [Adaptation to the learner. Native-speaker/non-native-speaker conversation and the negotiation of comprehensible input.] *LILI: Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* (Göttingen, FRG), **12**, 45 (1982), 100–19.

Linguistic input probably has to be comprehensible to the learner if it is to serve as data for second-language acquisition. It is widely assumed that input becomes comprehensible through the speech modifications of native speakers addressing non-native speakers of the target language. Recent research on native speaker/non-native speaker conversation, however, suggests that modifications of the interactional structure of conversation are more important in this regard. They are more extensive and more consistently observed than input modifications, and often occur when the latter are lacking. Fifteen devices for the modification of interaction are described. They belong to three categories: strategies, which serve to avoid conversational trouble, tactics, which are used to repair the discourse when trouble occurs, and strategies *and* tactics, devices which serve both functions.

83–386 Paducheva, E. V. Прагматические аспекты связности диалога. [Pragmatic aspects of the coherence of dialogue.] *Серия литературы и языка* (Moscow), **41**, 4 (1982), 305–13.

Dialogue is in some way basic with respect to monologue both in that it has a clear speaker–hearer structure, and in the immediacy with which unnatural utterances can be spotted, and corrected. A sequence of illocutionary function is considered natural if, e.g., answers naturally follow questions, and acceptance or refusal follows request). An extensive (although not exhaustive) typology of utterance–response types is presented, distinguishing (1) replies which pick up the felicity conditions for preceding utterances (e.g. one can question whether someone really wants to know something they have asked about); (2) replies which contradict presuppositions of preceding utterances, and (3) replies which pick up implicatures of preceding utterances. All of these types are illustrated with Russian data.

83–387 Poythress, Vern S. A framework for discourse analysis: the components of a discourse, from a tagmemic viewpoint. *Semiotica* (Amsterdam), **38**, 3/4 (1982), 277–98.

An attempt to outline a theoretical framework for classifying and cataloguing everything that goes on in the production and comprehension of discourses. With the help of a short text, the author explains how a discourse can be viewed from different perspectives, viz. (i) as a static whole which has 'meaning', (ii) as a dynamic human process which has 'impact' and (iii) as a system defined in relation to culture which has 'significance'. Meaning is subdivided into (*a*) 'unital meaning' (discourse as a verbal unit), (*b*) 'hierarchical meaning' (discourse as parts within wholes) and (*c*) 'contextual meaning' (discourse as elements from a system of meaning). Further subdivisions are discussed. The discourse as a process is discussed and the notion of 'impact' is divided into three types: (1) 'emotive' (using the speaker's viewpoint), (2) 'formative' (using the viewpoint of the discourse) and (3) 'conative' (using the audience's viewpoint).